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CANADA AND IMPERIALISM.

THE presence of Colonial contingents in South Africa fighting shoulder to shoulder with the veteran regiments of the British army in the cause of the empire marks an epoch in British history. In the case of Canada, as well as of Australia and New Zealand, this aid has been given voluntarily. Legal obligation did not exist, and the British Government was clothed with no power to compel colonial assistance. The controlling force has been a bond of sympathy and of loyalty to the motherland. Little doubt need be entertained that if a combination of foes should force upon Great Britain a struggle for national existence, Canada at least would put her last available man in the field, and would spend her last dollar in the defence of the mighty empire of which her territory forms no inconsiderable portion.

The devotion of Canada to the interests of the British empire is not entirely one of sentiment. Material interests also play a prominent part; for Great Britain is almost the exclusive market for Canada's food products, and furnishes a market for two-thirds of the total exports from the Dominion. Self-interest forbids that Canada should suffer this market to be destroyed or seriously curtailed.

As a result of their action in the present crisis in British affairs, Australia and Canada have suddenly challenged the attention of the world. Each country in itself possesses the area and resources of an empire. An intelligent comprehension of the vast extent and the potentialities of the Dominion is possessed by comparatively few men outside the boundaries of that country. It has an area of 3,618,000 square miles, five per cent less than that of the continent of Europe. The area of the United States, including Alaska, is 3,580,000. As exploration proceeds, and the character of the soil and climate of the Dominion, and the extent of its resources, are better known, the estimate of its importance rises. In 1888 the Canadian Senate appointed a committee to examine into the extent of the resources of the Mackenzie Basin and the country eastward to Hudson's Bay. The testimony of missionaries, Hudson Bay contractors, explorers, and others,

was taken. The conclusion arrived at was that 300,000 square miles of this district were suitable for the cultivation of wheat, 400,000 square miles for the cultivation of barley, 650,000 square miles for the cultivation of potatoes, and that the pastoral area would cover 860,000 square miles. Outside of this region drained by the great river of the North, and to the south of it, are the territories of Saskatchewan, Assiniboia, Alberta, and the province of Manitoba, with a total area of 370,000 square miles. The area of the maritime provinces—Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia—is 700,000 square miles.

The total arable area of the Dominion is probably 1,475,000 square miles, less mountains and water. The actual arable area fit for cultivation and capable of producing crops of wheat and other cereals is in excess of 1,000,000 square miles; and the country is capable of sustaining, from the productions of its own soil, a population of from 75,000,000 to 100,000,000. The climatic conditions are not governed by lines of latitude. The Japan current, on the Pacific coast, and the Chinook winds, sweeping down the great continental incline from the highlands of New Mexico and the region east of the Rocky Mountains toward the Arctic Ocean, unimpeded by mountain ranges, have a remarkable influence upon the climate of the Canadian Northwest. The isothermal line, marking the mean temperature of St. Paul and Winnipeg, extends in a northwesterly direction from St. Paul to the northern margin of Peace River Valley and the south shore of the Great Slave Lake, in latitude 60°. Embraced within this immense region, of which this line is the easterly and the Rocky Mountains the westerly boundary, is one of the most extensive and fertile wheat-growing regions in the world, mostly in a state of nature at the present time.

The Dominion possesses great mineral wealth. An auriferous region extends from the American boundary line west of the Rocky Mountains northerly for 1,400 miles, with an average width of nearly 300 miles, having the rich mining region of the Klondike within its northern limits. Forests of great commercial value cover a large portion of the territory of the Dominion; and its fisheries, both sea and inland, are of enormous value. Hudson's Bay, 1,000 miles in length, 600 miles wide, and covering 500,000 square miles, is a *mare clausum* within Canadian boundaries. This great expanse of water is three times the size of the North Sea. It has cod banks; salmon rivers, as yet untouched, enter from the Labrador side; and there are valu-

able whale and walrus fisheries. Through the straits connecting Hudson's Bay with the Atlantic is likely to pour at no distant day a great commerce from the wheat fields yet to be brought under cultivation, from the forests, and from the mines to the west of this inland sea. The great Northern lakes, Great Slave Lake, Great Bear Lake, Athabaska Lake, and scores of others teem with fish of the finest quality; and the country is a wilderness of lakes and streams almost throughout the entire limit of the Dominion, and especially within the Laurentian portion of it. It is a pleasant, picturesque land, with vast capabilities, admirably adapted to be the home of a virile and liberty-loving people.

The institutions of the country are modelled after those of Great Britain. Canada has the same features in regard to responsible government. It has the same parliamentary rules and usages, and a ministry directly responsible to the representatives of the people, having control of the Government and holding office only upon the condition of commanding a majority in the House of Commons. The experiment of the growth of institutions, distinctly British in form and spirit, alongside of the institutions of the Great Republic, will afford a study of deep interest to students of the science of government in the future; and it may be believed that each will exercise modifying and salutary influences upon the other.

The loyalty of Canada to the British Empire, and the devotion of almost its entire population to British institutions, are possibly surprising to the people of the United States. American proximity and the interblending of interests had naturally led to the expectation that the two countries might gravitate toward each other. Immediately after the repeal of the corn laws in England an annexation sentiment of very pronounced character was manifested in Canada; and the celebrated annexation manifesto of 1849 was signed by a great number of leading public men, who afterward repudiated their action in that respect. During the continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 to 1866, the volume of commercial transactions between the two countries increased rapidly; leading naturally to intimate social relations and to a feeling of friendliness and sympathy on the part of a considerable portion of the Canadian population toward the United States. A remarkable proof of this sentiment is the fact that over forty thousand Canadians served in the American army during the war of the rebellion.

Immediately following the abrogation by the United States of the

Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 came a period of high duties in the United States and of repression of the natural tendency of the two countries to trade with each other. Since that date the American tariff has been repressive in its tendency toward Canada as regards commercial intercourse. Several efforts were made by Canadian statesmen to secure a mitigation of these conditions, which hampered trade between contiguous peoples, and a return to a policy calculated to promote intercourse and trade between the British North American colonies and the United States. Two abortive attempts were made under the Conservative party between the abrogation of the treaty in 1866 and the year 1872. The failure of the first of these attempts, made soon after the abrogation of the treaty, served most effectively to promote the success of the scheme for confederating the British North American provinces, which was accomplished in 1867.

In 1874, after the Liberal party came into power, negotiations were opened by Hon. George Brown, as representative of Canada, and Lord Thornton, the British minister, on the one hand, and the American Executive on the other hand.

These negotiations resulted in the framing of a treaty known in Canada as the Brown Draft Treaty, which was broad and liberal in its character. It proposed to admit a long list of American manufactures into Canada free of duty, to give free admission for Canada's natural products into the United States, and to make other provisions calculated to promote good feeling and the growth of intimate relations between the two countries. This treaty unfortunately failed to receive ratification by the United States Senate; and the policy of trade repression between the two countries continued in vogue until the adoption of the Wilson Bill in 1895. Even this bill but slightly mitigated the almost prohibitive duties put upon Canadian farm products entering the market of the United States.

If the object of this line of policy was to convince Canada that the great advantage of securing access to the American markets could only be attained by entering into the American union, and of forcing a movement in that direction, its effect was the direct reverse of the intention of those who put the policy into operation. The result was that a feeling of animosity was engendered. Notwithstanding this state of feeling, the Canadian policy toward the United States was comparatively liberal. The duties were low, and the increase of importations from the United States into Canada grew apace. During the period from 1866 to the present year, the exports of Canada to the

United States have remained nearly stationary, and were in point of fact about the same amount in 1899 as in 1866. As I have shown in a previous article,¹ the result of the fiscal policies pursued by the two countries was that Canada in 1899 imported from the United States \$101,642,000, of which \$93,700,000 was for consumption, and exported to the United States of her own products, including short returns, \$39,225,000. This does not include coin and bullion. The balance of trade against Canada between total imports and total exports was \$56,509,000. She bought of the United States of farm products \$24,448,000, and sold to that country, of farm products the produce of Canada, \$5,778,000. She imported from the United States of free goods \$48,535,000, which was 75 per cent of her import of free goods from the world; and she received the advantage of free entrance into the markets of the United States for her own products to an extent not exceeding \$5,000,000. She charged duties upon total imports from the United States amounting to 11½ per cent, and duties upon dutiable imports from the United States to the amount of 24.13 per cent, while American duties upon dutiable imports were 49 per cent.

With a free list to the United States nine times as great as that furnished by the United States to Canada; with duties levied by the United States double in amount of percentage the duties imposed by Canada; and with practical prohibitory duties against the Dominion's farm products, there is little reason for surprise that Canada has been gradually drifting away in sympathy and in sentiment from her great neighbor, a result which the neighbor has taken every pains to render inevitable by an unfriendly fiscal policy. Being practically debarred from the American market, Canada, of course, has been obliged to find markets elsewhere, and has been enabled to do so beyond her most sanguine expectations. England last year took 62 per cent of her total exports, and her exports of farm products to that country was ten times greater than to the United States.

The effect of this immense development of English trade has been naturally to bind Canada more closely to Great Britain in sentiment and sympathy. This natural tendency has been strengthened by the lenient and generous course pursued by Great Britain toward her colonies. While her government has the power of veto upon Canadian legislation, the power remains a dead letter, not having been made use of even when Canadian legislation was detrimental to British inter-

¹See THE FORUM for June, 1900, pp. 471 *et seq.*

ests, as in the case of the adoption of the protective system in 1878. Canada's freedom of action has never been in the slightest degree interfered with; and she has always enjoyed the protection of Britain's army and navy and the services of her diplomatic and consular system free of cost. The result naturally has been the rapid growth of the Imperialistic sentiment; and to-day it is reasonable to believe that not 10 per cent of the Canadian population outside the province of Quebec are other than thoroughly loyal to British institutions. One evidence of the existence of this feeling, and of the determination to promote British interests as far as possible, is the adoption of the preferential trade policy, under which, two years ago, British imports were granted a preferential duty of 12 per cent, and one year ago of 25 per cent. By the action of Parliament the present session this differential rate has been increased to 33½ per cent.

When the British power was assailed in South Africa by Boer intrigue and hostility, the colonies realized at a glance the importance of the crisis. An empire of 1,500,000 square miles, with a future of indefinite expansion, was at stake; British prestige was at stake; the diamond mines of Kimberley; the fabulously rich gold mines of the Witwatersrand; the great region north of the Transvaal—which embraces unquestionably the ancient Ophir of the days of Hiram and Solomon; and the breezy, salubrious uplands north and south of the great river Zambezi and adjacent to the inland seas of Nyassa and Tanganika, with their vast possibilities—all these were the prizes for which the contestants entered the lists. Instinct and loyal impulse led the colonies to range themselves almost instantly on the side of the motherland, with a determination that the great British empire in Africa should remain intact, and that British influence and development in Africa should proceed unimpeded.

Imperial federation—involving a federal union, a central Parliament, representation in that Parliament by the Colonies, and a central jurisdiction exercised by that Parliament over all the empire—probably will never be realized. It is not essential to imperial unity that it should be. Neither is it at all likely that Britain will impose discriminating duties upon food products from various countries in the interests of Canada and other food-producing colonies, unless as an accompaniment of an Imperial *Zollverein* and absolute free trade throughout the empire. There has grown up, however, a bond of sympathy and mutual good will which amounts to an unwritten law, and which will secure every possible preference, both in England and

the Colonies, each for the other, in trade transactions. This spirit is likely to continue, and may lead in the near future to the consummation of that Imperial *Zollverein* which now seems a dream of the advocates of a United Empire.

England's military power looms up before the world in vaster proportions than ever before. Her basis of military strength is not only the forty millions of population of the British Isles, but the large and rapidly increasing population of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; and India affords a recruiting ground among its warlike tribes for millions of men, if necessary, to be mustered into the British service.

The meaning to the world of this growth of the Imperialistic spirit is not one of menace. It proffers a benediction of good will and of hope for the future. Great Britain's course in the past has been one calculated to promote the best interests of humanity. Such will be her course in the future; and vast, unreclaimed regions of the earth, such as the dark, unappropriated portions of Africa, will yet fall under her sway. The faster this destiny is fulfilled, the better for the inhabitants, and for the interests of humanity generally. Her colonial rule is a just and beneficent one. She holds the scales of justice with even hand, and sedulously seeks to promote the interests of the people who come under her sway, and to develop the resources and increase the wealth of the lands over which her flag floats.

It is needless to say that the English-speaking people of Great Britain and of all her colonies are anxious to promote friendly relations with the United States, and to act in concert with that country—which means that the earth shall be civilized and reclaimed, largely through the influence of the Anglo-Saxon race. A feeling of jealousy toward the United States does not exist in England. No appeal to passion, based upon popular prejudice against the American people, can be made there, for the simple reason that there is no such prejudice to appeal to. England will look with equanimity, and with approval, upon the extension of American territory and the increase of American power, hoping to be able to act in concert with the United States in the march of that destiny which God seems to have marked out as the path of English-speaking peoples in the twentieth century.

JOHN CHARLTON.